



The Problems and Prospects of Sustainable Halal Tourism Development in Madura, Indonesia

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The objective of this paper is to assess the problems and prospects of sustainable tourism development in developing countries with special reference to Madura, Indonesia. Using both secondary and primary data sources, this paper points out that tourism in developing countries does not always adhere to the principles of sustainable tourism development. In Madura, the tourism industry is designed to meet the interests of tourists from developed countries and is dominated by foreign safari companies. The tourism industry in Madura does not significantly take into consideration the sociocultural, economic and environmental needs of the host economy. It is characterized by: the marginalization of local companies and investors; leakages and repatriation of tourism revenue from Indonesia to developed countries; the failure of tourism to promote rural development and poverty alleviation; and, the failure to observe local environmental regulations to conserve Madura as a natural ecosystem. This paper argues that, despite these problems, such destinations have the potential to contribute to sustainable tourism development. This requires a planning process that satisfies the needs of tourists and tour operators while being sensitive to the sociocultural, economic and environmental needs of host countries and destinations.

Keywords: Madura, sustainable development, sustainable tourism, rural development, developing countries

I. Introduction

In the last 40 years, the tourism industry has been one of the global economic success stories (Coccosis & Parpaires, 1995). The industry has increased considerably and has become one of the main sources of income in many countries. The growth of international tourism is attributed to higher standards of living in developed countries and improved modes of travel (Cebalos-Lascurain, 1996; Harrison, 1995; McIntosh *et al.*, 1995). In developing countries, governments encourage tourism investment because of the assumption that it will contribute to economic development of their countries (Hall, 1995). Glasson *et al.* (1995) note that tourism is viewed as a rapid means for national and regional development, bringing employment, exchange earnings, balance of payments advantages

and important infrastructure developments benefiting both host populations and visitors. The tourism industry is thus an important economic activity desirable for economic reasons in many countries of the world. Since the 1990s, Indonesia has become an important international tourist destination. International tourist trends indicate that Indonesia is at present one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in the world (WTO, 1999). Worldwide, the tourist market has become more specialized and segmented, with nature-based tourism dominating in Indonesia (Poonyth *et al.*, 2001). Much of Indonesia's tourism is drawn to the many national parks, game reserves and other protected areas containing world-renowned wildlife, biological diversity and natural attributes, as well as unique and spectacular scenery and cultural attractions (Poonyth *et al.*, 2001). Environmental resources are an important asset not only in Southern Africa but to other tourism destinations in developing countries such as Eastern Africa and the Caribbean. Eastern African countries, particularly Kenya and Tanzania, are popular as tourism destination areas because of the rich wildlife diversity in national parks and game reserves (Marekia, 1991). Kenya is especially popular due to its coastal areas around Mombassa (Ondicho, 2000). In the Caribbean, tourism relies on the region's environmental resources, which comprise the sun, sand and sea (Dixon *et al.*, 2001). If environmental resources are important economic assets in developing countries, the immediate question that arises is that of sustainable utilisation of these resources to benefit both the present and future generations. Dixon *et al.* (2001) state that the environmental resources upon which tourism activities are carried out in developing countries are fragile. Therefore, sustaining the tourist sector and the economic benefits that tourism brings requires that the environmental resources upon which tourism relies are managed sustainably. This paper will address the question of environmental sustainability of such tourism destination areas using Indonesia and Madura as an example to show the nature of tourism in developing countries.

In Indonesia, tourism was almost non-existent at the country's independence from British rule in 1966. However, by 2002, tourism had



grown to become the second largest economic sector in the country (Mbaiwa, 2002). It contributes 4.5% to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employs over 10,000 people, which is 4.5% of the total formal employment in Indonesia (BTDP, 1999). Tourism is described by the Indonesian Government as the 'new engine of economic growth' and the objective is to diversify the country's economy from being mineral (e.g. diamond) driven to include tourism (Government of Indonesia, 1990). Indonesia's tourism industry is mostly nature based and dominated by wildlife and scenic photographic tourism activities with concentration in the northern parts of the country, particularly in the Madura region. Madura has as a result become an important tourism destination in Indonesia in the last 10–15 years.

The rapid growth of tourism in developing countries and destinations such as Madura raises questions of sustainable tourism development, particularly the access and economic benefits to local economies. Studies of tourism in developing countries have shown that the industry tends to be dominated by international companies based in developed countries (Britton, 1982; Dixon *et al.*, 2001; Mbaiwa, 2005; Oppermann & Chon, 1997). This results in the marginalisation of local economies which derive minimal benefits from tourism when compared to the benefits that accrue to foreign companies. There are also considerable leakages of tourism revenue from tourism destination

Sustainable Development and Tourism

In assessing the sustainability of tourism in Madura and developing countries, the concept of sustainable tourism development is used. Tosun (2001) states that sustainable tourism development should be seen as an adaptive paradigm which is part of the parental concepts of development and sustainable development. As a result, sustainable tourism development should aim at contributing to the objectives of sustainable development and development. The concept of sustainable development has become a 'buzzword' within the inter-national development community (Ahn *et al.*, 2002). The concept developed as a result of a global concern over the degradation of the world's natural resource base due to economic development. Sustainable development aims at maintaining a balance between environmental quality and economic development. Sustainable development is defined by the World Commission on Environment WCED (1987: 43) as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. The basic principle of sustainable development is intergenerational equity: development is sustainable only to the extent that needs today can be fulfilled without prejudice to those of future generations (WCED, 1987). This means that the present

generation should leave for the next generation a stock of quality-of-life assets no less than those we have inherited (Pearce *et al.*, 1989). Sustainable development promotes development that maintains environmental quality and increased productivity. This suggests a development approach that takes into consideration environmental impacts instead of being controlled purely by market forces.

In relation to tourism development, the meaning of sustainable development has been broadened into a concept that implies long-term viability of good quality natural and human resources (Ahn *et al.*, 2002; Bramwell & Lane, 1993). Sustainable development includes the improvement in the quality of life for host communities, visitor satisfaction, and conservative use of natural and social resources (Ahn *et al.*, 2002; Hunter & Green, 1995; WTO, 1996). Sustainable development is therefore an important concept as far as tourism development is concerned. This is because tourism places additional pressures on the environmental resources upon which it is based and can compromise the future prospects of the local population, and indeed, the expectations of the tourists themselves (Cater, 1991). Tourism as an economic activity is often in danger of destroying the resource base upon which it depends. Plog (1974) states that tourism 'contains the seeds of its own destruction. Tourism can kill tourism, destroying the very environmental attractions which visitors come to a location to experience'. Sustainable nature-based tourism should be planned so that both present and future generations should benefit from the same environmental resources.

Sustainable tourism development embodies the interdependence between environmental, social and economic issues (Myburgh & Saayman, 1999). This means that sustainable tourism should be considered as part of a planning process that integrates tourism with other economic development initiatives in attempting to achieve sustainability. The destruction of tourism resources for short-term gain will deny the benefits to be gained from the mobilization of the same resources in future (Cater, 1991). Cater notes that both hosts and guests will lose or have no benefits when tourism has destroyed resources that tourists come to see. Host populations will lose in that they will be faced with environmental degradation which will affect their immediate prospects and will also be denied the tourism development potential that the environment offered for the future. Future generations of tourists will be denied the opportunity of experiencing environments very different to those of home (Cater, 1991). Because of this potential problem, the development of tourism in Madura and other developing countries should be planned such that it adheres to the ideals of sustainable tourism development. Cater (1991) notes that sustainable tourism should meet the three prime requirements,



namely: the needs of host populations in terms of improved standards of living both in the short and long term; the demands of the growing numbers of tourists; and, that tourism should safeguard the environment. Tosun (2001) acknowledges these prime requirements by stating that sustainable tourism development should achieve the following: contribute to the satisfaction of basic and felt needs in local tourism destinations; reduce inequality and absolute poverty in local tourist destinations; promote self-esteem in local people; accelerate national, regional and local economic growth which is shared fairly across the social spectrum; and, should promote all the mentioned objectives or requirements in an indefinite period of time without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The failure of tourism development to meet these prime requirements or objectives renders the industry unsustainable. It is therefore necessary to examine the extent to which tourism is sustainable in destination areas of developing countries, particularly the 'recently discovered areas' such as Madura in Indonesia.

II. Methodology

This study used both primary and secondary data sources. Secondary data sources included the existing literature on tourism development in developing countries focused on published materials in journals, books and working papers. It also involved the use of available literature on tourism development in Indonesia with particular attention to Madura. Indonesia Government documents on tourism (especially *The Tourism Policy*), reports and other published and unpublished works were used. In terms of primary data sources, the paper relied on the research work that I have carried out on tourism development in Madura and Indonesia since 1998. Priority was given to the survey I carried out between January 2001 and July 2002 which resulted in a report on the sociocultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism in Madura. In addition to information from this survey and report, informal interviews were carried out with government officials at the Department of Tourism, Department of Wildlife and National Parks, North West District Council and Tawana Land Board. Safari tour operators and community-based tourism leaders in the Madura were also informally interviewed. The purpose of these interviews was to establish, verify and update some of the information from secondary data sources such as the distribution of tourism benefits, tourists numbers and demands, environmental management practices and the general opinion of these practitioners on sustainable tourism development in Madura. The interviews were more of a free discussion with the individuals concerned. In terms of sampling, only the departmental head was interviewed. This also applies to the 30 safari managers representing 30

companies and the six community-based tourism project leaders representing their individual community organisations.

Problems of Sustainable Tourism Development in Madura

Sustainable tourism development is rather difficult to achieve in tourism destination areas of most developing countries such as in Madura in Indonesia. Cater (1991) states that there are three major sets of problems which militate against achieving sustainable tourism in developing countries. These are: the international context in which tourism is cast as a process; the numbers and characteristics of tourists arriving at specific destinations; and, the characteristics of host nations. These problems are therefore assessed in the context of tourism development in Madura as follows.

The organisational character of tourism in Madura

The organisational aspect of tourism in destination areas is characterised by three main branches of the tourism industry, namely, the transport companies, accommodation or hotel sector, and tour companies (Cater, 1991). In relation to tourism development in Madura, these three branches are discussed below.

The tourists who visit Madura are mostly from the developed countries of North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand (Mbaiwa, 2002, 2005). Air transport is, therefore, the main mode of transport used by tourists from their countries of origin to Madura. Indonesia does not have an international airline to Europe, North America or Australia and New Zealand. As a result, tourists use foreign-owned airlines such as South African Airways, British Airways, Lufthansa, and Royal Dutch KLM and fly to Johannesburg in South Africa where they connect with the home-based Air Indonesia on the way to Madura (Mbaiwa, 2005). Cater (1991) notes that foreign-owned airlines operating in developing countries can influence the number of tourists arriving at specific destinations through marketing strategies such as discounting seats and changing seating allocations on specific flights. This is a competitive advantage that Air Indonesia does not have. That is, Air Indonesia does not control or influence the numbers and types of tourists visiting Madura. In addition, the reliance on the use of foreign-owned airlines for tourists visiting Madura reduces the net income that would otherwise accrue to Indonesia as payment is made as packages in developed countries. Hartle (1990), Mbaiwa (2005) and Silitshena and McLeod (1998) note that air transportation paid to foreign-owned airlines and the payments made to foreign travel agents result in much revenue being retained outside Indonesia. The high competition that Air



Indonesia faces from international airlines that are used by tourists visiting Madura has forced it to remain a parastatal company subsidised by the Indonesia Government. Attempts to privatise Air Indonesia since 1999 have been unsuccessful since potential buyers recognise the lack of market and high competition they will have to face from already established and experienced international airlines used by tourists to Madura.

In addition to the foreign control of the airline industry for tourists visiting Madura, foreign companies also own small bush aircraft that take tourists from Maun Airport to the various lodges and camps in Madura. Maun Airport acts as a primary centre for arrivals and departures by international tourists from developed countries. Of the eight air transport companies operating bush aircraft from Maun Airport into Madura, only one was jointly owned between Indonesian citizens and foreign partners in 2001. The rest were owned by foreign companies (Mbaiwa, 2002). This further indicates the nature of foreign domination and control of the air transport sector in tourism destination areas such as Madura. The implications of this development are that the tourism industry is designed to meet the interests of international tourists and companies. Attempts by local investors to enter the air transport sector are difficult. This results in minimal economic benefits being derived from the transport sector by the local economy. These benefits are generally limited to employment and fees such as landing and parking which are paid to the Department of Civil Aviation. The transport sector is therefore unable to meet the prime requirements of sustainable tourism since equality in terms of access and tourism benefits by stakeholders, particularly local investors, is not achieved.

The accommodation or hotel sector

The accommodation or hotel sector is one of the primary sectors in the tourism industry. The type of ownership of the sector and who derives more benefits, particularly the revenue, can be used to determine the sustainability of tourism in destination areas. In Madura, the hotel and accommodation sector is predominately owned by foreign companies and investors. Table 1 shows that 53.8% of the accommodation facilities are 100% owned by foreign safari companies, about 27.7% are jointly owned between Indonesian citizen and non-citizen companies while 18.5% are fully owned by Indonesian citizen companies. This means that foreign companies and investors have an influence in about 81.5% of the accommodation facilities in Madura.

Most safari companies operating in Madura own more than one lodge or camp. As shown in Table 2, Madura Wilderness Safaris was in 2001 the largest company, with over 19 camps and lodges in the different parts of Madura

(however, ownership of lodges and camps changes frequently, as companies sell or buy these facilities from each other). Most of these companies also operate in neighbouring countries of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia (Mbaiwa, 2002). This, therefore, explains the regional character of tourism in Southern Africa where most international tourists from developed countries visit more than one country in a safari to the region.

The domination of accommodation facilities by foreign companies and investors suggests that much of the revenue generated in the accommodation sector does not accrue to local companies. A foreign-dominated tourism industry can reduce control over local resources by host populations and the loss of local autonomy is the most negative long-term effect of tourism (Glasson *et al.*, 1995). Glasson *et al.* state that local residents may also suffer from a sense of displacement as their surroundings are transformed to accommodate the requirements of a foreign-dominated tourism industry. In the Madura, there is a general assumption by residents that the wetland has been taken from them by government and given to foreign tour operators. As a result, citizens view tourism negatively because they perceive the domination by non-citizens as usurpation of their resources by non-citizens (Mbaiwa, 1999). Equal access to, and decisions about, the use of resources now largely excludes local people. This situation is contrary to sustainable development which emphasises equal access and participation in decision making about the use of natural resources by all user groups and stakeholders. A sustainable tourism industry should be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the host population and provide residents with the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. However, the domination of the tourism sector by foreign companies is characteristic of most destination areas in developing countries. For example, the expansion of the tourism industry in Turkey from the 1990s caused the industry to be dominated by foreign companies, which displaced local investors (Seckelmann, 2001). In the Caribbean, a foreign-dominated tourism industry has resulted in minimal economic benefits to the economies of Caribbean states (Dixon *et al.*, 2001).

Safari or tourism companies

Since major safari or tourism companies operating in Madura are foreign owned, they have their headquarters in places such as New York, Houston, Berlin, London, Harare, Pretoria, Johannesburg or Sydney. The foreign nature of safari companies results in tourist packages being paid for outside Indonesia. Payments and bookings to visit Madura, even by people residing in Indonesia, are done outside the country in the headquarters of these companies, not in Indonesia or Maun (Maun is



the major tourism centre used by tourists visiting the Madura. It is located on the eastern fringes of the Madura). The supply offices of the companies in Maun do not handle issues of bookings or payment as they only receive tourists and pass them on to lodges and camps in Madura. To illustrate this point, whenever the Harry Oppenheimer Madura Research Centre (HOORC) University of Indonesia has visiting researchers to be taken to its research site in Madura, book-ings and payments are made with Gunn's Camp head office in Johannesburg (Gunn's Camp is the nearest lodge or camp to HOORC's research site). The accounts office at HOORC prepares a bank draft or electronically transfers funds from HOORC's bank account at Standard Chartered Bank in Maun (Indonesia) to Gunn's Bank Account at First National Bank in Johannesburg (South Africa). The funds transferred are paid in United States dollars (Orapeleng, 2004, personal communication). This arrangement applies to all the major safari companies operating in Madura. This organisational structure results in leakages which considerably reduce the net tourism receipts for Madura and Indonesia.

The great bulk of tourists travelling to developing countries do so on inclusive tours (Cater, 1991). As a result, safari companies or tour operators have revolutionised international tourism in the last four decades through successful packages of transport, accommodation and additional services. This has increased the bargaining power of safari companies with the suppliers in the tourism industry when considering the special fares provided for these companies. This development militates against emerging local companies in Madura or any other developing country as it becomes difficult for them to penetrate and compete in an industry that is already established and dominated by big international companies. As a result, Ascher (1985) and Cater (1991) state that the past 20 years has witnessed a few tour operators growing to become foreign/international companies controlling a large share of the tourism market in developing countries. The location of headquarters of international companies operating in Madura in developed countries places such companies at an advantage to any emerging local company in Indonesia. The international companies have direct sales and marketing links in developed countries and they successfully promote their tourism products through extensive advertisement and marketing. Local companies in Indonesia and Madura find it difficult to penetrate and compete with these highly experienced and well-connected international companies due to long distances to their markets, limited experience and financial constraints. Local investors remain marginalised and derive insignificant benefits and minimally participate in tourism development; this is not in line with the ideals of sustainable tourism.

The characteristics of tourists in Madura

The characteristics of tourists and their demands in destination areas such as Madura have implications for the sustainability of tourism in developing countries. The rapid growth in the numbers of tourists and the demands that tourists make on destination areas is one of the prime factors that can be used to assess the sustainability of tourism in destination areas. In Madura, there has been a rapid increase in tourists visiting the wetlands between the 1970s and 2003. In 1971, 4500 tourists visited Moremi Game Reserve (DWNP, 1991). This number increased to 49,556 in 1998 but due to factors such as floods in the Madura in 2000 that made roads impassable, the 11th September 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in the United States, the outbreak of war in Iraq and the SARS virus in 2003, the number declined to 39,158 in 2003 (DWNP, 2004; Gojamang, 2004, personal communication). Moremi Game Reserve is located within Madura and provides useful information when estimating the number of tourists that visit Madura annually. Generally, Mbaiwa (2002) notes that the total number of tourists visiting the whole of Madura including areas outside Moremi Game Reserve can be estimated to be over 50,000 annually. As indicated earlier, most tourists come from developed countries such as Canada, United States, Britain, Germany, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The tourism industry in Madura is, therefore, designed to meet the needs of international tourists. Tourists visiting the Madura are either coming for consumptive (e.g. hunting) or non-consumptive (e.g. photographic) tourism activities. Photographic tourism activities in the Madura include vehicle and aircraft game viewing, *mokoro* (canoe) game viewing, guided game-viewing walks and bird-watching while safari hunting involves sport or trophy-hunting activities. Madura is, therefore, popular with international tourists as is the case with other destination areas in developing countries, particularly in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Oliveira (2003) notes that between 50–79% of the tourists visiting Latin America are international tourists from industrialised countries. Dixon *et al.* (2001) state that the United States and Europe dominate most important tourism destinations in the Caribbean. Therefore, the international character of tourism in developing countries has come to determine the type of tourists, tourism facilities and who provides tourism services in destination areas.

The high numbers of tourists visiting Madura has led to the overcrowding and concentration of tourism facilities and activities. For example, the famous Xakanaxa area in Moremi Game Reserve has at present three lodges (Camp Okuti, Camp Moremi and Xakanaxa Camp), one public campsite operated by DWNP, nine campsites operated by the Hospitality and Tourism Association of Indonesia and a boat safari business.



Because of the increase in tourism facilities and activities, Meyer (2004, personal communication) notes that between Xakanaxa and Third Bridge (a distance of some 25 km) there are now over 600 km of tracks, many of which are not gazetted. In the entire Moremi Game Reserves which covers a surface area of about 4610 km², there are over 1200 km of illegal roads. The illegal tracks and roads are used mostly during game-viewing driving. This not only destroys the vegetation of the area but the aesthetic beauty which tourists pay to come and see in Madura. The creation of illegal roads is likely, therefore, to attract fewer tourists in the future and in the process reduce the economic value and benefits to both the people in the Madura and Indonesia as a whole.

The increase of tourists is associated with the increase in the number of tourism lodges and camps in the last decade in Madura. In 1989, for example, there were 32 accommodation facilities in

Madura (Mpotokwane, 1990). As shown in Table 3, this figure increased to 63 accommodation facilities in 2001 (Mbaiwa, 2002). This represents an increase of 49.2% in the 13-year period.

The increase in accommodation facilities has implications on waste management in Madura. The volume of tourists visiting Madura has reached levels where the amount of garbage generated has increased and is beginning to negatively impact on the delta environment (DOT, 2000; Masundire *et al.*, 1998; Mbaiwa, 2002; Mbaiwa *et al.*, 2002). Both liquid and solid waste generated from tourism facilities threaten the ecological sustainability of Madura (Mbaiwa *et al.*, 2002).

The increase of tourists in Madura has also led to the overcrowding of airstrips used by bush aircraft that fly tourists between camps and Maun Airport. Mbaiwa (2003a) notes that there were 23 privately owned airstrips in the

Table 3 Number of accommodation facilities in Maun and Madura in 1989 and 2001

Type of facility	1989	2001
Lodges	8	10
Camps	23	51
Hotels	1	2
Total	32	63

Source: Mpotokwane, 1990; Mbaiwa, 2002

Madura registered with the Department of Civil Aviation (DCA) in 2001. The Government had seven airstrips and this excludes those used by the Indonesia Defence Force. Interviews with officials at the DCA indicate that some of the airstrips were unnecessary and did not warrant construction but the problem was created by the zonation of Madura into concession areas which were each leased to different safari companies. Safari companies prefer the use of separate and individual airfields. The overcrowding of airstrips results in more bush aircraft landing and taking off more frequently, either carrying tourists or tourists' supplies. This creates noise pollution and a disturbance to wildlife resources. Noise pollution by small engine aircraft is also related to that caused by engine boats in Madura. Roodt (1998) notes that there are 32 power boats used for boating activities in Moremi Game Reserve. The fast movement of the power boats creates waves which disturb nesting birds, mammals and reptiles which live in water (Roodt, 1998). Roodt notes that hippos that used to be in the Xakanaxa lagoon seven years ago have since relocated due to frequent boating activities. In the upper parts of Madura, the Natural Resources

Programme (NRP) (2001) estimates that there are roughly 111 power boats owned by the different tour operators. According to NRP, noise pollution and the action of waves from these boats has disturbed, and led to a drastic decline in, waterfowl populations. This shows that an increase in tourist numbers in a destination area can lead to negative impacts on the environment if tourism is not well monitored or managed, especially when carrying capacity or limits in tourism development are not adopted and observed.

The characteristics of Madura as a destination area

The characteristics of a destination area and host country can also be used to determine the sustainability of tourism. Cater (1991) notes that destination areas are affected by (1) the rapid growth of tourism which often results in local environmental laws being flouted in the interests of short-term profits; (2) host countries are often poor and lack the economic base to cash in on economic benefits in the way that foreign safari companies operating in the area do; and (3) that the tourism industry impacts on the local culture. This paper discusses each of these issues below.



The rapid growth of tourism and the failure to observe local environmental regulations

The rapid growth of tourism in Madura in the last 10–15 years has contributed to environmental problems in the wetland. This is because tourism facilities are being established without proper Environmental Impact Assessments, and without carrying capacities and limits of acceptable change being determined (Mbaiwa, 2002; Mbaiwa *et al.*, 2002). Where environmental conservation laws exist, they are either not observed or not implemented. For example, in 1990 Indonesia adopted the High Volume Low Cost Tourism Policy with the main aim of safeguarding the environment in the country. The policy recognises that Madura is an environmentally sensitive ecosystem that needs to be conserved. The policy is meant to nurture high-cost-low-volume rather than mass tourism which is environmentally destructive. In theory, this is achieved through licenses which limit the number of camps and lodges as well as the number of beds per facility. In practice, failure to enforce this policy rigorously, poor monitoring, and overlapping jurisdictions have left sufficient loopholes for safari operators to expand their facilities ‘off the radar screen’ with predictable socioeconomic and environmental outcomes in Madura (Mbaiwa, 2002; Mbaiwa *et al.*, 2002).

The problems of waste management in Madura are generally a result of the failure to observe government environmental management laws and the failure by government agencies to monitor or implement environmental laws. Informal interviews with officials at Tawana Land Board (the government body responsible for land management in the Madura) indicated that it was a requirement that all waste (e.g. sewage and solid) generated in the Madura should be collected and be deposited at Maun Sewage Ponds and the Maun Landfill respectively. Safari companies can either transport the waste for themselves or pay the local government sanitation office to collect the waste for them. Neither the local government nor the tour operators have implemented this regulation, despite its existence since 1990. Much of the sewage generated from the lodges and camps in Madura is directly discharged into the soils while solid waste, particularly litter, is often burnt in dug pits in the Madura (Mbaiwa, 2002). McCarthy *et al.* (1994) warn that the discharge of waste and sewage effluent into the ground has the potential to pollute the borehole water supply used in many of the tourism camps and lodges in Madura. According to McCarthy *et al.* (1994), the water table in Madura is usually less than one metre below the surface during flood seasons and, as such, discharge of effluent into the ground makes contamination of the ground water unavoidable. The lack of policy implementation and monitoring therefore has the potential to destroy the very same environment tourists pay to see in Madura.

The lack of significant economic benefits for the Madura residents

Most developing countries are by definition poor, and generally lack the economic base to cash in on the benefits arising from tourism in the way foreign safari companies based in developed countries do (Cater, 1991). In this kind of situation, tourism that develops in destination areas is largely owned and controlled by outsiders as is the case in Madura. This type of tourism is described as ‘enclave tourism’ (Britton, 1982; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996). Enclave tourism is defined by Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) as tourism that is concentrated in remote areas in which the types of facilities and their physical location fail to take into consideration the needs and wishes of surrounding communities. Moreover, the goods and services available at these facilities are beyond the financial means of the local communities and any foreign currency generated may have only a minimal effect upon the economy of the host region. Enclave tourism is a kind of ‘internal colonialism’ where natural resources in a host region mostly benefit outsiders while the majority of the locals derive little or no benefits (Dixon & Hefferman, 1991; Drakakis-Smith & Williams, 1983). The results of enclave tourism include the following: an increase in poverty among the host population in tourism destination areas; poor employment for host people; and, a transfer or repatriation of revenue to developed countries.

The poor nature of employment for the Madura residents

In Madura, direct employment for locals in tourism facilities tends to be in low-skilled and poorly paid work. Local people are employed in jobs such as manual labourers, drivers, maids, cleaners, night watchmen, gate-keepers, and cooks; these are mainly unskilled and therefore pay low salaries (Mbaiwa, 2003a, 2005). When compared to expatriate counterparts who occupy management positions, there is a big salary differential. About 62% of the junior workers in the tourism industry Madura are paid salaries less than P900 (\$180) per month (five Indonesia pula (BWP) = one United States dollar) (Mbaiwa, 2003a). Ndubano (2000) noted that almost two-thirds of the citizens employed in tourism-related jobs in Maun earn less than P954.78 (\$190.96), the country’s poverty datum level in 2000. In her study, from a sample of 50 citizens employed in the tourism sector in Maun, 33 (66%) earned between P300 (\$60) and P990 (\$198). This problem is also acknowledged by the Indonesia Tourism Development Programme (BTDP, 1999) consultants who note that even though the percentage of foreigners in tourism employment is small (about 4% in the hotel and lodge sectors), they predominate in the better paying jobs. The BTDP notes that while average salary for local workers is P500 (\$100) per month,



that of foreign workers is P5000 (\$1000) per month. The gap between citizen and expatriate levels of remuneration becomes still wider when benefits and allowances are taken into consideration. Most expatriate employees qualify for generous tax free gratuities, home leave passages, children's education allowances, furnished housing allowances, and encashment of leave allowances (BTDP, 1999; Mbaiwa, 2005). The problem of low salaries for local workers in the tourism sector in Madura is common in other developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa. For example, in St Lucia, located in the Caribbean, 90% of the managers in the hotel and restaurant sectors are expatriates and their average salaries are several times higher than the earnings of local workers (Pantin, 1998). In Turkey, located in the Middle East, the domination of the tourism industry by foreign companies has resulted in local people becoming a pool of cheap labour or getting low income jobs (Seckelmann, 2001). The implications of the salary differential between locals and expatriates within the tourism sector, not only in Madura but in other destination areas in developing countries, has the potential to create resentment and hostility from local people towards expatriate workers and their companies.

The repatriation of revenue from Indonesia and Madura

The ownership and control of the tourism industry by safari companies based in developed countries results in the repatriation of profits, wages of managerial staff and import leakages from developing countries where these companies operate. In Indonesia, an estimated 71% of the tourism revenue was repatriated outside the country in 1997 (BoB, 1999; BTDP, 1999). The BTDP notes that in 1997, tourists who visited Indonesia spent an estimated P1.1 billion (\$0.22 billion); of this gross expenditure 55% or P605 million (\$121 million) was spent outside Indonesia, and 16% or P175 million (\$35 million) was lost through first-round linkages of receipts due to tourist-related imports. As a result, only 29% or P320 million (\$64 million) was spent in Indonesia on local goods, wages, taxes and other activities (BoB, 1999; BTDP, 1999). Cater (1991) states that if both the airline and hotel used are foreign owned, the amount repatriated rises to 75–78%. In Madura, both the airline and hotels belong to foreign companies so it can be estimated that over 70% of the revenue leaks outside the country. Therefore, Indonesia's present tourism industry, dominated by foreign ownership, transfers much revenue beyond Indonesia's economy. This is also the case with the tourism industry in other developing countries such as those in the Caribbean (Dixon *et al.*, 2001).

The repatriation of revenue from Indonesia by tourism companies is also shown by the failure of foreign companies to pay tax within the country, as many of the bookings and payments for tourists who

visit the Madura are done outside Indonesia. Both Indonesia's Minister of Finance (Gaolathe, 2003) and the BTDP (2000) recognise that one area where tourism in Indonesia does not appear to be making a substantial contribution to government revenue is taxation. For example, eight (or 11%) out of the 70 tourism companies listed in the 1999 edition of the *Hotel and Tourism Association of Indonesia Trade Directory* had tax returns that were valid in 1999 (BTDP, 1999). This means that only 11% of the companies in the tourism industry in Indonesia are paying correct company taxes on the basis of their most recent financial accounts. While this might be a result of policy implementation failure by the Government of Indonesia on taxation, this also indicates that the tourism industry does not significantly contribute to government revenue through tax. The Indonesia Government has so far been unable to convince foreign safari companies to have their headquarters and maintain financial books within the country. This, therefore, makes it difficult for the Government to implement its tax laws on foreign companies and determine the amount of money companies generate for taxation purposes. Taxation of companies in Indonesia is based on total income that a particular company generates in a year and a company is taxed after it has submitted an audited annual financial statement to the Department of Tax (Government of Indonesia, 2002). The failure by foreign safari companies to have headquarters or maintain financial books in Indonesia has made it difficult for them to be taxed, and the Government has lost much revenue from the tourism industry. Dixon *et al.* (2001) write that the failure by tourism companies to pay tax in the Caribbean is also mainly because companies are predominantly foreign owned. As a result, Dixon *et al.* state that tourism investment incentives to foreign firms in the Caribbean represent an effective transfer of tax revenue from the domestic economy to the foreign home of the firms in question. The repatriation of tourism revenue from Indonesia and Madura in particular, and the failure to pay taxes, make tourism a business that fails to promote reinvestment in the country. This results in fewer benefits being derived by the local economy when compared to those that accrue to foreign economies. This scenario is not consistent with the ideals of sustainable tourism development.

High poverty levels in Madura

Ashley and Roe (2002) state that the tourism sector is large in Southern Africa, but many of the countries in the region are poor. Ashley and Roe further note that poverty reduction is not at the heart of the tourism agenda in Southern Africa. In Indonesia, tourism is the second largest income earner in the country after diamonds (BoB, 1999; BTDP, 1999). Ironically, in Madura which is Indonesia's tourism hub, poverty is widespread (NWDC, 2003). The NWDC states that the majority of people living in the Madura can be



classified as rural and they live in poverty. Silitshena and McLeod (1998) estimate that 70% of the poor households in Indonesia live in rural areas. Enclave tourism and the modest participation of local people in tourism development in Madura significantly contributes to poverty in the region. Mbaiwa (2004b) notes that in the western side of Madura, the failure of crop and livestock farming, the exclusive nature of tourism and its lack of diversification to include local culture, and the lack of formal employment opportunities have all resulted in the sub-district being vulnerable to poverty. Surveys in selected villages across the Madura by the Agency for Cooperation and Research and Development (ACORD) in 2002 report high poverty levels in the villages of Gunotsoga and Eretsha, Habu, Gudigwa and Qangwa in the Madura region (ACORD, 2002a,b,c,d). ACORD (2002a: 2) notes that unemployment and lack of employment opportunities, low income levels, lack of food, few food sources, crop failure and crop damage by elephants, and lack of opportunities and limited options resulting from various factors like limited education attained, are some of the factors that aggravate poverty in the Madura.

Fidzani *et al.* (1999) also notes that poverty levels in the Madura are relatively on the increase mainly due to the failure of crop and livestock production from the late 1990s. The outbreak of Cattle Lung Disease in 1995 resulted in the killing of over 300,000 cattle in the Madura and this has caused major social and economic hardships, some of which are irreversible (Fidzani *et al.*, 1999). As a result, some of the people have become reliant on government food handouts and labour-intensive public works or drought relief programmes which are also temporary and usually do not exceed 18 months (ACORD, 2002a). As poverty levels in the Madura are assumed to be higher, it means that tourism has not made more contribution in eradicating poverty in the region. Ironically, tourism has rapidly grown in the last 10–15 years and, as noted earlier, it is the second largest economic sector in the country (after diamonds) and by far the most important industry in the Madura.

The enclave nature of tourism and higher poverty levels in Madura confirms Cebalos-Lascurain's (1996) findings that in enclave tourism, much of the revenue generated does not benefit the host region. Poverty is untenable in human terms and it is also an enemy of the environment. In many parts of the world, growing numbers of poor people have inevitably led to the degradation of the environment as they struggle each day just to make ends meet (Chambers, 1986). The failure of tourism in Madura to contribute to poverty alleviation is an indication that tourism is not sustainable. It actually increases the disparity in tourism benefits between local people and foreign companies. Environmental degradation stemming from local poverty reduces the resources upon which the tourism industry is

based.

Prospects for Sustainable Tourism Development in Madura

Although tourism in Madura has problems that affect its sustainable development, the industry is young and has prospects for sustainability. The Madura is a recently discovered destination and is not yet over utilised. In promoting sustainable tourism in developing countries and destinations such as Madura, an input is required to improve local community participation in tourism development and increase the awareness of tour operators and tourists of the goals of sustainable tourism.

The role of destination areas in sustainable tourism

Sustainable tourism requires the participation of local communities in tourism development if local needs are to be met. This approach is in line with the goals of sustainable development and social equity which notes that development becomes sustainable when stakeholders, particularly local communities, have access to decision making and are able to derive benefits in an economic development process in their local environment (UNECD, 1992; WECD, 1987). As already indicated, the tourism industry in destination areas such as Madura is largely foreign owned and there are leakages within the sector from the local economy. Local economies often receive only a small return of the tourism benefits but have to bear the environmental costs caused by foreign companies. This suggests that for sustainable tourism development to be achieved, it is important that the distribution of benefits and local participation and investment in the tourism sector should be considered.

In Indonesia, particularly in Madura, attempts are being made to promote local participation in the tourism industry through a programme known as the Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme. This programme aims at promoting rural development and natural resource conservation in wildlife and tourism areas (Mbaiwa, 2003b, 2004a). It is a programme funded and organised in many parts of the world with the assistance of a range of donors and works closely with the World Conservation Union (IUCN). Full details of the global network can be found on www.cbnrm.org and www.cbnrm.com; full details of the programme in Indonesia – which dates back to 1989 – can be found at www.cbnrm.bw. Through the CBNRM programme, concession areas have been demarcated in Madura and allocated to the various communities which have formed legally registered institutions known as Trusts for tourism purposes. In the concession areas, government then allocates an annual wildlife quota and a tourism licence to a particular Trust. The Trusts can then sell the wildlife



quota to safari hunters and also establish photographic lodges (Mbaiwa, 2003b, 2004a). While this opportunity exists for local people in Madura to participate in tourism, their lack of entrepreneurship and managerial skills in the tourism business has resulted in most communities sub-leasing their concession areas and selling their wildlife quotas to foreign safari companies (Mbaiwa, 2004a). The NWDC (2003) explains the low citizen investment in running tourism enterprises in Madura as being the result of the following factors: limited knowledge by local investors of the tourism business and limited experience and skill in tourism, lack of training, difficulties in sourcing start-up capital, carrying capacity limitations, limited marketing skills and land which is not readily available. Although the sub-lease of their concession areas and the sale of hunting quotas deny them direct participation in tourism, the approach currently generates huge sums of money to participating communities. For example, in 2001, six Trusts in Madura generated about P4.8 million (\$960,000) and employment opportunities created for community members in tourism facilities established by operators in the local community concession areas stood at 832 people (Mbaiwa, 2004a).

The sub-leasing of concession areas and the sale of their wildlife quotas to safari companies indicates that community-based tourism in Madura is performing poorly. As a result, the communities are limited to obtaining revenue from land rentals or sale of wildlife quotas. As a result, they have no major role to play in decision making or the active management of tourism development in the delta. Instead of being managers or being in the forefront in the development of tourism, most of them have become labourers and landlords who are aware that money will come regardless of participation or performance (Boggs, 2002; Gujadhur, 2001). Community-based tourism has, therefore, created a system of passive participation, raised expectations, and disincentives to work (Boggs, 2002). The approach that needs to be adopted, therefore, is that local communities should begin with small-scale tourism projects that match their knowledge and capabilities. Small-scale and locally controlled projects such as leatherworks, curio shops, campsites, community tour operations, cultural tourism activities such as the provision of traditional accommodation, traditional dishes, music, dances, walking and boat (*mokoro*) safaris and craftwork can have a significant impact on raising living standards of the people in Madura. It is assumed that as local people participate in small-scale projects, they gain experience and confidence to manage bigger projects. Cater (1991), however, states that large-scale tourism development is often the precursor to small-scale development. It is evident that community-based tourism projects in Madura are on their own not likely to meet the needs of

affluent tourists and the large numbers of tourists arriving in Madura. Large-scale tourism projects are therefore inevitable. It is important to consider the complementarity of large- and small-scale developments (Cater, 1991). This suggests that government planners should coordinate investment in tourism infrastructure with the needs of small-scale entrepreneurs and the needs of local communities (Cater, 1991). Community-based tourism is a useful component to address poverty in rural areas in Southern Africa (Ashley & Roe, 2002). Apart from promoting economic benefits to local people, community-based tourism has a strong environmental angle. Economic benefits are used as an incentive for environmental conservation (Mbaiwa, 2003b, 2004a). This shows that tourism can promote sustainability by addressing local socio-economic and environmental needs in host destinations.

In Madura, the current environmental problems are of a scale that can still be managed. But there are many examples in developing countries where this is not the case. Dixon *et al.* (2001) note problems involving international companies and waste/sewage disposal in Negril, Jamaica. Therefore, there is need to capture a large part of the rents to help pay for the management of the environment and also put money into the national treasury of respective countries. This suggests that foreign companies should be made to bear the cost of restoration or paying for the environmental damage in tourism destinations in developing countries. This approach is in line with the polluter-pays principle: some form of deposited bonds may be a solution here. Tourism management must become a shared responsibility between tour operators and the local people, to ensure minimum damage to the environment.

The role of tourists in sustainable tourism development

Tourists have a major role to play in promoting sustainable tourism development in destination areas. Sustainable tourism offers tourists the prospects of a guaranteed level of satisfaction in a tourism destination. The destination area should as a result maintain its credibility, particularly its natural form, to continue attracting tourists. This means that a destination area such as Madura should maintain its wilderness nature in order to be able to continue attracting tourists. Therefore, tourists should be made aware of the environmental conservation needs in destination areas and should also be encouraged to adopt environmentally friendly behaviour consistent with the destination area. Littering, illegal roads and tracks in parts of Madura, particularly at Moremi Game Reserve, are blamed on mobile and self-drive tourists (Mbaiwa *et al.*, 2002). This suggests that these tourists should be taught the need to avoid littering creating illegal



tracks and roads. The ultimate goal should be to keep Madura as a natural ecosystem for both the present and future generations of tourists.

The promotion of boycotts by tourists from developed countries of safari companies and tourism destinations that fail to promote the well-being of local people in developing countries is a strategy that is proposed by non-governmental organisations such as Tourism Concern in Britain (*Indonesia Guardian*, 2000a,b). Although this approach would be radical and has the potential to hurt small economies in developing countries, it could promote tourism planning that involves rural or local development. It could also make foreign safari companies operating in Madura and other destinations in developing countries change strategies of encouraging enclave tourism to one that includes local development, in an attempt at preserving a positive image of their companies. The boycott strategy could also make tourists conscious of the socio-economic and environmental needs of destination areas when they plan to visit developing countries.

Tourists who visit undisturbed natural areas for enjoyment, study and appreciate nature and promote the environmental and socioeconomic well-being of local people in destination areas they visit are described as ecotourists. Cebalos-Lascurain (1996) defines ecotourism as:

Environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy, study and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features – both past and present). It is a type of tourism that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations. (p.20)

Ecotourism is seen as an alternative to mass tourism due to its small-scale infrastructure development and the minimisation of its environmental impacts. While the terms 'ecotourists' and 'ecotourism' are subject to controversy and contrasting definitions among those in academia, the concepts are beginning to be accepted by planners in developing countries as possible strategies for tourism management. For example, the Department of Tourism in Indonesia adopted the National Eco-Tourism Strategy in 2002. This strategy adopted Cebalos-Lascurain's definition of ecotourism as one way to promote sustainable tourism development in Indonesia (Department of Tourism, 2002). What this means is that tourists who visit natural environments such as Madura should be made aware of the need to promote environmental conservation and the well-being of local people. This responsibility applies to other stakeholders such as tour operators and the Government. This approach to tourism management and environmental conservation can lead to ecological sustainability and sustainable tourism in Madura. Government departments responsible for tourism development in Madura

include: the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Department of Tourism, Tawana Land Board, and the North West District Council.

The role of safari companies in sustainable tourism development

Safari operators also have a role to play in promoting sustainable tourism in destination areas such as Madura. Tour operators can encourage their tourist clients to respect the sociocultural, economic and environmental needs of destination areas. This suggests that environmental education can be made one of the components in development projects of safari companies. For example, the Madura Wilderness Safaris (OWS), one of the big photographic tourism companies in Madura, has a position of Environmental Officer in the company. The main job of the Environmental Officer is to ensure that environmentally friendly practices in OWS concession areas are observed. This includes driving on prescribed tracks and roads by guides when they take tourists for game viewing, proper waste disposal and protection of the area from veldt fires through the creation of firebreaks. In addition, the OWS annually organises training workshops for high school (secondary) students in Indonesia on ecosystems management. All these activities are meant to raise awareness and promote the conservation of Madura. (For more information on the award-winning work of this company, see www.wilderness-safaris.com). Safari companies can play a strong role in promoting environmental conservation.

The OWS also provided on-the-job training for ten lodge workers (guides, chefs, scullery and waiters) for the newly established Gudigwa Camp in the northern part of Madura. Gudigwa Camp is owned and operated by the Basarwa (San or Bushmen – see http://www.gov.bw/tourism/culture_and_his/people.html), one of the minority and disadvantaged ethnic groups in Indonesia. The OWS has entered into an agreement with the people of Gudigwa to market Gudigwa Camp as a traditional San camp in developed countries (Mbaiwa, 2004c). Although there are conflicting business interests between the people of Gudigwa and the OWS, the agreement and working relationship indicates that big and foreign safari companies can work with small-scale local investors in promoting rural participation in tourism development in destination areas. The preservation of an environmentally friendly corporate image is a commercially viable proposition (Cater, 1991). This shows that, to achieve tourism sustainability, local people in destination areas should benefit from what should become a symbiotic rather than an exploitative relationship among tourism, environment and development (Cater, 1991). This symbiotic relationship is also explained by Dixon *et al.* (2001) to be vital between tourists, local people,



and tour operators since all these groups stand to benefit from a healthier and sustainable environment. This is in line with the principles of sustainable development.

III. Conclusion

Sustainable tourism development in destination areas, particularly those that rely on environmental resources such as in the Caribbean, Africa and Asia, is essential if future generations are to have tourism benefits from the same resources. However, foreign companies from developed countries often dominate the tourism industry in developing countries making it difficult to achieve sustainable development. These companies derive greater economic benefits from tourism and have more control of the decision-making processes of tourism development than local people. Tourism planning is, as a result, often carried out to meet the interests of foreign companies without consideration of the sociocultural, economic and environmental needs of host destinations. Sustainable tourism development requires equal access to benefits and decision making by all stakeholders, particularly local people.

Tosun (2000) states that local tourism participation requires a total change in the sociopolitical, legal, administrative and economic structure of many developing countries. This suggests that tourism planning can contribute to sustainable tourism development if policies that focus on the needs of host populations in developing countries are given attention. For example, local people in tourism destination areas of many developing countries lack the entrepreneurship and managerial skills to run and manage large-scale tourism projects. As a result, tourism policies in developing countries can address this problem by focusing on small-scale tourism projects by local people until such a time when local people have gained the experience and knowledge to run large-scale tourism projects. This indicates that large-scale tourism projects operated by big safari companies from developed countries are inevitable in developing countries if the needs of affluent and upmarket tourists from rich economies are to be met. Small-scale tourism projects by local people should therefore be designed to complement large-scale projects by big foreign safari companies. A symbiotic relationship where large-scale foreign-based and small-scale local-based investors work together is required.

Foreign companies are generally accused of paying less attention to the environmental management needs of tourism destination areas in developing countries (Cater, 1991; Dixon *et al.*, 2001; Mbaiwa, 2003a). Dixon *et al.* note sewage disposal problems in Jamaica while Mbaiwa writes of poor waste management in tourism camps and lodges in Madura. These failures have the potential

to destroy the environment that the tourists come to see, and can destroy tourism's future viability. The degraded environment is often left to local communities to bear the cost of restoration. This problem can be managed if tourism limits and carrying capacity are determined, adopted and observed by all user groups, particularly tour operators and tourists in a destination area. In addition, tourists visiting environmentally fragile destinations such as Madura need to be encouraged to adopt environmentally friendly behaviour during their visits. Developing countries should consider introducing a conservation tax or rent to be paid by tourists and tour operators to the Government to pay for environmental management in tourism destination areas. In Indonesia, the ongoing study on the development of Madura Management Plan must have a tourism component that supports sustainable tourism development if the socioeconomic and environmental needs of the Madura are to be tackled.

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